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THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1799.

No. XXXI.

*To such Gentlemen as are summoned to attend the
Grand Juries in the different Counties in
IRELAND.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT is the rumour of the day that the sanctuary of justice, the grand jury room, in which you are to discharge the most sacred and important duty to your country, is to be disturbed and agitated by political discussion. In a word—that the approbation of the grand jurors of Ireland to the measure of an incorporate Union is to be sought for by the executive government of your country. I cannot conceive it possible that such a rumour is entitled to attention. I hope that government is too wise to propose, and that you gentlemen, are too prudent to accede, to such a measure. It is impossible that at a time when your rulers exact despotic power for the preservation of the state, that it can invite any body of men to further disquisition, on a subject which has already shook the country to its centre: I trust that a rumour of this kind has arisen from the fears of individuals, rather than any communication between the servants of the crown and the inferior officers whom they immediately nominate. The presumption is certainly as strong, that Mr. Pitt's servants have appointed Union sheriffs, as that Union sheriffs have summoned Union juries. It is not unlikely, if the influence of the crown is exercised, but that 700 gentlemen might be found in Ireland to resolve in favor of an Union. Twenty-three persons of character, some of them servants and dependants on the crown, others in expectation of courtly favor, might easily I suppose be collected in each county, and might certainly be induced to accede to such a proposal; for unfortunately, the individual good felt in a public benefit is comparatively so small, comes round through such an involved labyrinth of tedious revolutions, that the cold commendation of a public advantage never was, and never will be, a match for the quick sensibility of private loss, or individual aggrandizement. I impeach not your honor, your integrity, nor your patriotism—I am no hired calumniator to detract from the purity of your intentions—it is the expression of the public feeling of a county which gives importance to a grand jury resolution—when obtained by insidious and surreptitious means, the most time-serving resolution is of greater injury than advantage to the minister. You risk odium and contempt without the smallest benefit—and trust me that your wounded and irritated country would infinitely sooner burst its cerments in expressing its indignation at the idea of an Union being justified by the expression of public sentiment in its favor through a grand jury organ, than at its being carried

even by the most bare-faced legislative prostitution. I call on you therefore as you value the peace of your delirious country—as you recollect the views of that enemy who daily draws his increased resources from confederating powers, not to indulge the silly anger of a baffled and disappointed minister, but that in your different counties you will exhibit an even-handed justice—that by your benevolence and your example you will hush the warring elements of murder, of passion, and of faction to peace. I entreat you to relent in rigor, where you may relent in safety—to pardon something to the spirit of liberty; and at the same time that you hold the rod of chastisement over the guilty culprit, never put your names to any resolution which may exhibit you to your country as the admirers of a measure, which, if carried, must make perpetual domestic hostility the wretched inheritance of your unhappy posterity. Indeed, gentlemen, I address you in the language and the spirit of peace; and I tell you, frankly, that I see nothing in the bill which is now before the legislature to induce you to seek refuge in despair, even in an Union; because when this country is united to Engl. you have no security but that it would not be exposed if possible to still greater misery. I can never think that Lord Cornwallis will abandon the seat of mercy to enthrone himself on the tribunal of revenge; he is too old and too virtuous to seek power to shed our blood. If he is to be vested with absolute power, his character as a generous soldier and humane man, gives us every reason to hope that it will be employed in counteracting local depredations and inhuman brutalities; though that power was abused, yet my approbation of an Union would never be in proportion to that abuse. Slavery is as dangerous to a government as to an individual, the danger is only in the degree. At all times, when a cruel policy rivets the chain round the ankle of the peasant, divine justice, says the amiable St. Pierre, rivets the other end round the neck of the tyrant. In this great and awful movement of nations there is a reciprocal servitude between the people and rulers of new as well as old governments; it is hard to say of which of the two governments the cords are drawn the tightest;—but there is no difficulty in foreseeing that whatever may become of either the new or the old governments of the earth, that rapine, retaliation and reverberation of outrages, religious feuds, murder and devastation, must in this island, in the event of any change or no change, swell the catalogue of human woes, augment human misery under the old systems if from the operation of events it is strengthened and confirmed, and make this devoted island a grave, a desert, incapable of deriving any advantage from any change or no change, from this administration or that, from this or that form of government; I oppose the Union therefore on the principle

that I condemn these acts, because if attempted to be carried, I think the attempt would further disturb the domestic peace of this distracted country, and if carried would occasion perpetual discord. The inventive faculty of man cannot, in my humble apprehension, discover a less efficacious and a more fatal mode of advancing any, even supposed, or fancied honest, or honorable purpose, than by provincial devastation of property, local risings, parochial murders, &c. and therefore every good man must aid in putting them down on the same principle that he would oppose an Union, to prevent an unavailing effusion of the blood, comfort and resources of the island. When I spoke of the act of the legislature it was certainly with no intention to weaken all the well-grounded objections which have been made against arbitrary power; the magnanimity of the intention effectually to crush delinquency could never be questioned, if the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud and tremendous cries of thousands from all quarters of the country could induce Parlt. to change, alter and modify certain measures, which call loudly for reformation and improvement, and bar the avenues to returning justice—the blessings of a people so fared would not diffuse in empty air. No, (to use the expression of a great orator) heaven itself would become the agent to receive the blessings of their pious gratitude, and waft them to the bosom of their sovereign. Beware, I conjure you, of intemperate zeal; reject with unanimous indignation any overture which would induce you to give an opinion upon the interests of others yet unborn, when your alarms, your prejudices and your fears incapacitate you from forming any opinion even of your own. Stand at the sick bed of your wretched country, and if you are not disposed to administer to its diseases, play not the assassin to amuse the minister. Be firm; resist the Union; and trust me that the same hand which has inflicted the wounds on Ireland, must, like the hero's spear of old, be stretched forth to administer the remedy and ensure the cure—trust me, the best way to promote the prosperity of Ireland is to shew a British cabinet that you are not dull and insensible and indifferent to its advancement; and that although there are several in the country seduced into republicanism, yet that there is not an Irishman disposed to be a slave. I decline entering at any length into the abstract question; it is exhausted. If carried at all, an Union can only be carried by pitiful and flimsy expedients—expedients as paltry and inefficacious as they are insidious. It is a misuse of your functions to blend the quality of juror with politician—shew the minister of England that you despair not to cure common distempers by regular methods—view not the disturbances (which every good man deplores) under every colour of exaggeration—and in the paroxysm of alarm surrender not your country for ever to every projector or adventurer, every alchymist and empyric who may be unwilling or unable to serve it. The British minister must drag down the stupendous power of France, and revolutionize America, before he changes the spirit or the habits of the Irish nation, it is impossible. In these islands you can-

not be misled in cases of any difficulty; you will find in the treasures of your constitution maxims and principles to regulate your determination. It is not a leading maxim of that constitution, that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be disposed to resist and to rebel. I cannot find an authority which says, that no case can exist in which it is proper for the sovereign to accede to the wishes of his disconsolate subjects, or that giving way in a few instances, is to lose all that may remain unconceded. You have nothing to say to the clumsy subtlety of Mr. Pitt's deductions, or Mr. Windham's political metaphors;—follow the advice of Mr. Burke, and leave them to amuse the schools—“*Ille se jactet in aula Æolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.*” But let them not break prison to burst like a LEVANTER to sweep the earth with their hurricane, and to break up the fountains of the great deep to overwhelm you.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY
FROM THE
DALKEY GAZETTE.

COURIERS EXTRAORDINARY FROM THE COURTS
OF PORTUGAL, MADRID, AND GERMANY,
TO THE COURT AT
ST. JAMES'S.

YESTERDAY arrived at Downing-street, under a large escort of cavalry from Plymouth, a special messenger from Don TERRIFICO DESPOTICO, prime minister of Portugal, with a remonstrance supplicatory and expostulatory, against the projected incorporate Union between his country and the French Republic; praying immediate relief and succour against so deplorable a calamity. Signor Pittachio received the ambassador with his wonted courtesy; but having on a late occasion made that immeasurable oration (which is now distributing gratis by the French Directory over the European Continent) in favor of incorporation of legislation; he referred the ambassador to *Poster, Saurin, and Co.* and the *Conduéctors of the Anti-Union*, in Ireland, to receive the best Anti-Union instructions; the ambassador is expected in Dublin every moment, on his important mission; and it is whispered that the ORATORS of the bar meeting, several of the HOSIERS, Roger Gower the humbugger, Counsellor Bethell, and several Anti-Union city orators, are to pass the gugging months in Portugal, where they are to be attended by proper interpreters, in inflaming the Portuguese against the monstrous measure of an Incorporate Union.

N. B. The moment the account arrived in Dublin, a reward was offered to discover the author of *Cease your Funning*; and great offers made for the literary assistance of that Anti-Jacobin writer; a special messenger was immediately sent after *Tom Gould*, who had proceeded on the Munster Circuit, and that Anti-Union